/86 cont./

000 1. Parodi, p. 4.

293 excellent quality. They pull them up with their roots, then put them in a pile, cutting off the two ends, and let them soak in
293 water. Then they crush them on a slab with hammer blows.
412 The latter is made of a stone put in a leather sheath to which a wooden handle is attached (Fig. 25, 1 /see p. 15/). There is no doubt that this handle is a recent innovation, and that the primitive hammers of the Uro, like all those of the Aymara of the conquest and of the modern Cipaya, were nothing more than a simple pebble with, at the most, somewhat of a depression to facilitate grasping it. Once the straw is flexible through the washing and hammering, it is rolled on the leg with the flat of the hand, following a process common to America as a whole.

291 Dress. The dress of the Uro is identical with that of the
171 Aymara, i.e., with very few exceptions, to that of the poor classes in practically all of Latin America: trousers, a shirt,
295 a felt hat, and a poncho. Almost all the Uro, however, still
[174] keep the "camiseta," the long woolen shirt which was once the /87/ national costume of the Indians who belonged to the Andean civilizations or who were subject to their influence (Fig. 25, 4 /see p. 15/). They rarely put it on nowadays, and only on my express request did those whom I photographed consent to slip this tunic over their ordinary clothes (Pl. V, A /see p. 25/).
291 They cover their heads with a wool helmet, whose pre-Colombian
294 origin is doubtful. The Uro formerly knitted them with thread made from the down of water birds. The Berlin Museum has a sample of these caps, the technique of which Dr. Th. Krickeberg was kind enough to study on my behalf. This examination led
[173] him to the conclusion that although the idea of spinning bird down is ancient, the knitting stitches are clearly European in origin.

291 The women are dressed like the Indian women of La Paz: several colored skirts put on one over the other, a dirty blouse barely hidden by a mantle closed over the chest, a felt hat, and

/87 cont./
sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient, pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B /see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt, which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).

Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

The information I gathered on their social organization is, unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans, a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titihana, Kunko, Kama, and Kuipe. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai and kataño. These may be translated by their Aymara equivalent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is derived from the word which designates this ornament (nerateruñoi: "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (tapk tapni) who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

Tübérose--22 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uro SF24
Abcsaqui

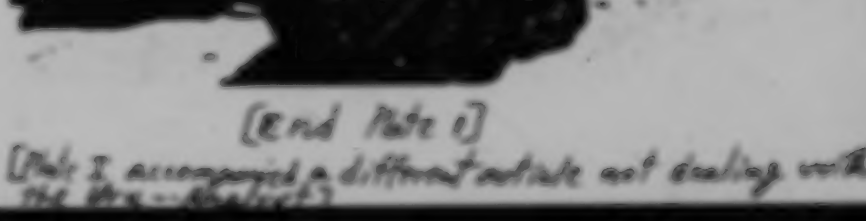
Plate I
A

3HR

A. Bound horse.

B. Warrior dying.

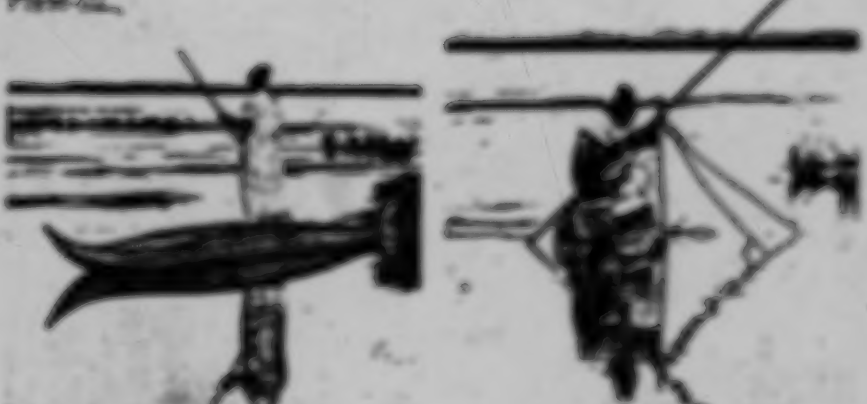
29/
302
2/1



[Read Plate I]

A [Plate I accompanied a different article not dealing with the Mix--Mixtecs]

Plate 41.



A. B.

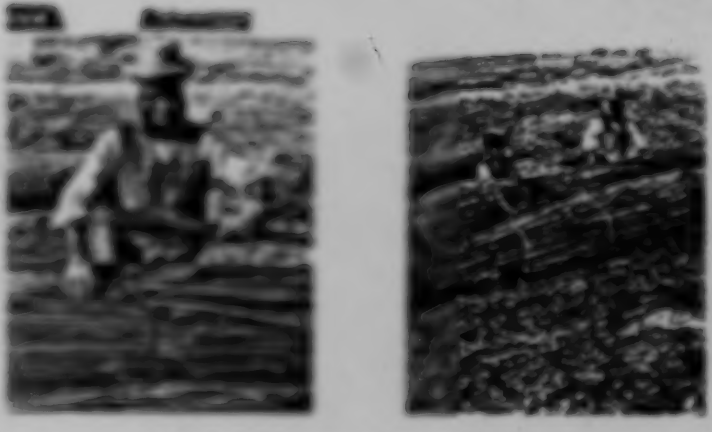
Indians fishing with landing net.

C. Manta wearing.

[End Plate 4]

Lothrop—24 [illegible] 8-6 (1851) 1898 SF24 Uru SF24
"Peru-qu." Ancoaqui

A. A boatyard for balsas at Ancoaqui.



B. Manufacture of balsas.

C. Manufacture of balsas.

1dMétraux--25 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uro SF24
Ancoaqui

A. Male Uro Indian dressed in [illegible] costume.

B. Uro woman.

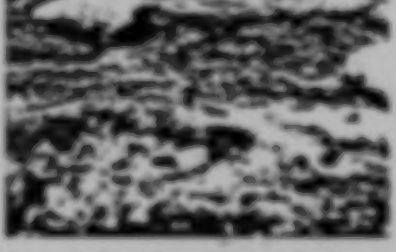
C. Little Uro girl.

D. Uro maiden.

[End Plate 4]

2:066mano--122 E-8 (1930-1931) 1931 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XI



A.— [illegible] kneeling before a [illegible]

B.— [illegible] of a sheep.

C.— [illegible] of a Hamus libation of alcohol and offering of corn.

D.— [illegible] of a Hamus.

Livingstone—120 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SPG4 Um SPG4

Caranga-
Chipeya

Plate XII

A. —Festival of Cuadlemous Mission as a banner.

B. —Chipeya women feasting the Dry Rot a festival.

Dahomey--135 8-6 (1930-1931) 1931, 1936 SF34 Lev SF34

Plate XIV

Carnaval-
Cipaya

A. — Festival of the Carnaval (February 2). Dance around a hammer.

B. — Festival of the malfeu Indian bearing a drum near the effigy of a demon (malfeu).

C. — Cipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Cipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive clothes, etc.).

Smithsonian--136 E-8 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XV

Caranga:-
Chipaya

A. —Old Čipaya woman and her daughter.

B. —Čipaya woman spinning.

C. —Čipaya woman.

D. —Čipaya Indian dressed in a camiseta.

Carangas—
Čipaya

/168 cont./

223 411 191 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4, C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

223 411 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their balsas. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

● 291 Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (ira) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5, G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The ira was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The ira is the best product [531] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white [386] strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

Carangas – Chipaya

/170 cont./

294 296 These shirts[1] are woven on old native looms according to a process which I would not be able to describe in a better way than through the words of the old Spanish chronicler, Cobo (1): "Over the

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 160.

guaras (loincloth) the Indians put on an article of clothing without sleeve or collar, which they call uncu and we camiseta because of its resemblance to our shirts. Each of these garments is separately woven, for they do not know about making long strips of cloth as we do and then cutting them. The fabric from which they make this shirt is like a piece of ticking. It is three palmes /handbreadths/ wide and two varas (about 1.65 meters) long. They make the neck opening on the loom itself so that they will not have to cut it; when they take it off the loom they have nothing to do but fold it and sew the sides with the same thread they used for weaving, exactly as if it were a sack. They are careful to leave a space open on the sewn-up sides for the arms. This garment falls down to three or four fingers more or less above the knees." Cobo would have been able to complete his description, otherwise so exact, by adding that from the neck opening (ir(a)-kˣora), the thread of the weft, which has ended up in the middle of the cloth, is made to come back on itself. Proceeding thus on both sides for a certain length, the desired slit is obtained. Among the Čipaya the edges are crudely embroidered with yellow thread, the same moreover as the one which is used to sew the two sides of the shirt. The sewing stitches are treated as ornamentation.

291 [illegible] /171/ Early travelers often mention the cloak when they describe the attire of the highlanders of Peru and Bolivia. This garment has completely disappeared from this region, vanquished by the poncho which, in contrast, is not in evidence either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth centuries. In Chipaya the cloak (1)

1 [i.e., The men's shirts made of stiff woolen cloth – Analyst]

Carangas-
Cajaya

291 /171 cont./

1. The specimen at the University of Tucumán is 1 meter long and 87 cm. wide.

(yakol'a) of pre-Columbian times still competes with the poncho. This fact thus comes to the support of Montell's thesis (2), which

[113] 2. Montell, Gösta. "Le vrai poncho, son origine post-colombienne /The True Poncho, Its Post-Columbian Origin/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. XVII, 1925; Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru. Göteborg, 1929. pp. 237-244.

sees the poncho as a practically modern culture trait, at least for
[394] Peru. The Cipaya cloak is made of two strips of material sewn to-
291 gether and bound with piping. It is point for point the ancient
191 Aymara llacolla of which Cobo (3) has left us a description. In the

[113] 3. Cobo (Bernabé). Historia del nuevo mundo (Published for the first time with notes and commentaries by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada). Seville, 1893. Vol. IV, p. 160: "The cloak takes less work: they make it from two pieces, with a seam in the middle, two varas and a cuarta long, and a vara and three cuarta wide; it ends with four points or corners, like a woolen blanket /manta/ or coverlet, and because of

Curanges—
Chipaya

/171 cont./

this we call it manta, although the name the Indians give it is yacolla." /Cited in Spanish./

In the Museum of Ethnography in Göteborg there is a magnificent piece of fabric from the coast of Peru which presents the same characteristics as the modern Čipaya cloaks and which was certainly used in the same way. The Čipaya ponchos are very short and display no peculiarities. Their only decoration is the strips of colors.

The men's outfit is completed by a knitted wool helmet with two flaps which cover the ears (Fig. 5, C /see p. 163/). This is the famous Aymara chullo. The famous felt hats (skara) worn by both sexes in the entire Andean region has become more and more widespread in Chipaya as well as the pants. They have not yet succeeded in destroying the picturesque archaism of the area. The material for the pants is made in the village of Chipaya on a treadle loom of the European type.

Bags (kǎlis) are a part of Čipaya clothing because they are never separated from it. These bags, which are worn thrust through the belt, are of various kinds. There are small ones with vivid colors and geometric ornamentation, others which are simpler with black lines on a grey background, and finally large ones covered with a kind of velvet, i.e., with tufts of fine wool slipped into the weave (Fig. 4, B /see p. 157/). The last are the most expensive. I also bought in Chipaya small leather pouches /172/ made of the skin of a young llama's neck pulled off without a side incision and with the fur (Fig. 4, I).

Women's dress. The costume of the women has remained as it was several centuries ago, and it is the main factor which contributes to giving Chipaya its so clearly pre-Columbian look. Here also the general law which will have it that women, as soon as we abandon our urban centers, remain attached to tradition and to old ways more faithfully than men is verified.

Cayanga--
Chipaya

/172 cont./

291 Next to the skin the women wear a square shirt (almi'a), which is identical in form to the masculine shirt (ira), although narrower (Fig. 5, B /see p. 163/). It is wide enough to make the shoulder line fall on the arm. Blue sleeves are sewn to the shirt. This accessory is modern as is proved by the name manikam (from the Spanish: manga, sleeve) by which the Indians call it.

The Čipaya women wrap their bodies in a large piece of cloth (uñu) which they pass under the arms and the ends of which, lifted to the shoulders, are held together with a cactus spine or a silver pin (him, păs-him). This tunic is held at the waist by a large belt invariably decorated with brown and black chevrons (Pl. III, C /see p. 212/). Most of the women sew the lower part of this garment from the waist down on the side so as to make a skirt. This [90] innovation, post-Columbian in origin, dates from the beginning of [91] the Conquest and was imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities to safeguard the decency of their flock.

The uñu is made of material woven with great care, brown or black in color and ribbed. It is always adorned above and below with a beige strip with white stripes. A specimen at the Museum of Ethnography at the University of Tucumán measures 1.58 meters by 1.36 meters. Over this tunic is thrown a long brown or black mantle (talu) which falls down the back to the knees and which is pinned at the breast. This garment is still worn by all the women of [91] the Andean region (lliclla), but whereas the Aymara and Quichua [93] Indians like to make it with varied motifs and bright colors alternating, the Čipaya are satisfied to decorate it with a white strip crossed with fine dark stripes (Pl. I, A,B,C /see p. 210/). The mantle of the Čipaya women is, in addition, much longer than that of the other [91] Indian women of the altiplano. It is only on the banks of the Titicaca that I met some women whose lliclla were as long as in Chipaya. These Indian women no doubt came from some distant village in the interior.

/172 cont./

To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

The women know no other toilette other than the care given their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in water with

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

Carangas - Calpaya

/173/

/See captions on next page./

Caranga:-
Čipaya

/173 cont./

Fig. 5. – Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čyi'ri).
D: Pin (pič-kin) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (k'ara or čaxuña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

Archives--193 E-9 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF34 Uro SF34

Cayagar-
Chipaya

Clothing. There is no need to insist on the pre-Columbian character of the shirt (ira) worn by the Čipaya. This garment was to some extent the national costume of all the Andean Indians, and their neighbors in warmer regions adopted it under their influence. On the altiplano the Uro of Ancoaqui (Desaguadero) are, with the Čipaya, the last Indians who still wear this tunic, whose Spanish name (camiseta) constantly recurs in the accounts of the first conquerors. Among the Uro the ira has been more and more supplanted by a simple jacket, and most of the men of this tribe do not have one any more or if they do, no longer think of wearing it. Within the confines of the Peruvian empire the camiseta is still in use among the Campa of Peru and, for a short time longer, among the Čiriguano. The Museum of Ethnography of the Trocadéro in Paris has a splendid blue cotton tunic which comes from the latter tribe (1).

1. On the subject of the tunic, cf. Montell, Dress and ornament, pp. 193-200; for the cape, ibid., pp. 200-202.

I have already had occasion to speak of the pre-Columbian origin of the cape and of its progressive disappearance provoked by the introduction of the poncho in the post-Columbian period. The wearing of the cape has been retained up to our day in certain remote regions of the Peruvian Sierra (2).

[113]

2. Alvarez (Angélica). "Anococoahua." Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 19. — Yabar Palacio (Luis). "El Ayllu de Oqueros (Paucartambo). Revista de la Universidad del Cuzco, Cuzco, 11th year, No. 38, 1922, p. 91.

2bbfrasco--194 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 1936 Uru 1936

Cayapa-
chipaya
Aymara 1936

/196/

The chuco, or helmet, of the Aymara and Cipaya is in my opinion of post-Columbian origin. From the heads of a good number of mummies in the chullpares in the neighborhood of Incara and Huachacalla I have recovered string caps, the technique of which has no connection with the knitting stitches of modern caps but many analogies with that of spiral basket-work (coiled basketry /Ref. in English/). The authors who make allusion to the Aymara caps of the sixteenth and seventeenth century never speak of the flaps that protect the ears, which is an argument more in favor of a recent date for this type of headgear. Here are the oldest descriptions which we have of the Aymara caps: "They wore on the head what they called in their tongue chucos, a kind of very tall sombrero without a brim, and in order that they could hold the head, they compressed and attenuated it /the head/ as high as they could, in memory, so that they had heads having the tall form of the volcano whence they departed" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 40). /Cited in Spanish./ "...the headdress, which till now has been chucos shaped like the crowns of sombreros without a brim, and for some years in this region all have relinquished them and wear sombreros" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, Vol. II, p. 69). /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

1. On the Aymara cap, cf. Mason, Dress and ornaments, pp. 204-205.

The Uru Indians of Ancoaqui up to recent years spun the feathers of water birds from which they then created caps (2). One

2. Forbes, On the Aymara Indians, p. 282: "Around the lake of Titicaca I have seen socks and gloves for children made of the down of the waterfowl, which had apparently

Reference--155 S-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:-
Chipaya

/156 cont./

been first spun into yarn and then knitted." /Cited in English./

of these has been preserved at the Museum of Ethnography in Berlin. Dr. Kirchberg, who was kind enough to examine it with care upon my request and to study its technique, has assured me that although the idea of spinning feathers is certainly old, the crochet stitch itself is typically European. This circumstance does not authorize us to place the feather fabrics of the Uro in the category of culture traits common to the north and south of the New World.

Minus the sleeves attached to the shirt and the sewing of the lower part of the tunic (uiku), the female costume of the Chipaya is entirely pre-Columbian and identical to that which the women of the Sierra were wearing in the sixteenth century. For evidence I wish to cite the following passages from Cobo (3):

3. Historia del nuevo mundo,
Vol. IV, pp. 161-163.

"The women's clothing, which serves as skirt and cloak, are two mantles: one they wear as a sleeveless cassock, as wide above /157/ as below, which covers them from the neck to the feet; they do not make a neck for the head to go through, and the way they put it on is by wrapping it around the body under the arms, and drawing the ends over the shoulders, they make them meet and fasten them with their pins. From the waist down they bind and constrict the belly with many turns of a wide, thick, and elegant band called chumpi. This shirt, or cassock, is called Anacu; it leaves the arms free and bare and remains open on one side; and thus, although one edge is folded a bit over the other, on walking the edges are turned a bit and opened from the chumpi, or band, downward, revealing part of the leg and thigh. Because of this now that they practice greater modesty as being Christians, they sew and close up the side to avoid such indecorousness. The other mantle is called Lliclla;

/197 cont./

#197 they wear it over the shoulders, and joining the ends over the breast
• 31 fasten them with a pin. These are their mantles, or cloaklets, which reach down to mid-leg, and they remove them to work and while they are at home." ..... "They encircle it (the head) with a ribbon the width of a finger, more or less, painted and odd, which they call Vincha, which hangs down the forehead. As a headdress they wear a piece of rich Cumbi called Pampacona, and they do not wear it stretched out but folded three or four times, so that it gets to be half a tercia in width; they put one end over the forehead, and giving a turn over the middle of the head, leaving the hair uncovered on the sides, the other end falls down the upper back." /Cited in Spanish./ (1)

1. On the clothing of the women of the Sierra during the Inca period. cf. Montell, Dress and ornaments, pp. 226-236.

[332] An aryballus from the Berlin Museum (V.A. 7896) is decorated at the base of the neck with a series of paintings depicting slightly stylized women. One could imagine oneself in the presence of the silhouette of a group of Cipaya women: without difficulty one distinguishes the tunic held at the waist by a large belt, the mantle falling on the back, and the folded napkin on the head in the style of a Neapolitan coif. This coif is also seen in the rather naive drawings of Huaman Poma de Ayala (2) and in some portraits of Inca

2. In Montell, Dress and ornaments, Fig. 83, p. 178; Fig. 97, p. 224; Fig. 98, p. 230.

princesses, wives of conquistadores, who are depicted on a scene in the church of the Jesuits in Cuzco, if I am not mistaken. The felt hat which is never absent from the head of Quichua or Aymara

2:866traus--197 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 6F24 Uru 6F24
Caranga-
Chipaya

/197 cont./

women caused the disappearance of the folded napkin with which up to a short time ago they covered their heads exactly as the present-day Čipaya women (3).

3. Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 232.

Even in cases where historical documents may have remained silent on this /198/ subject, archaeology brings us proof that Čipaya female clothing has remained, even in the smallest details, just as it was before the Conquest. /Figure 12 appears here./

The excavations I made in the chullpas near Iscara some 20 kilometers from Chipaya gave me a large number of fabrics identical to those of the present-day Čipaya. The resemblance is such that the Indians themselves thought when they saw my collection that I was amusing myself by collecting rags they had thrown away. They did not hesitate once in identifying the clothing from which each fragment of archaeological fabric came by simply comparing it with their own material. A woman's belt (Fig. 12 /see p. 198/) which I extracted from one of these sepulchers is so completely similar in technique, design, and color to the belts in fashion today in Chipaya (Fig. 13 /see p. 198/) that I defy the most expert ethnographer to indicate the least difference between a modern specimen and an ancient one. Some fragments of urku which I was able to withdraw from the charnel houses which the chullpas are also bear witness themselves to the fact that the principal garment of Čipaya women has not varied since pre-Columbian days from the point of view of color as well as of the nature of the cloth. /Figure 13 appears here./

Are the picturesque little braids of the Čipaya women also a reminiscence of the past? The chullpas of Iscara and Huachacalla gave me a large number of female skulls to which the scalp still adhered. The disposition of the plaits and their number corresponded exactly to the fashion still in existence among our Indians. The small

/190 cont./

Fig. 12.--Fragment of pre-Spanish belt found in a chullpa near Incara (Carangas Province).

pendants depicting a female personage, or ipurake, found in Tiahuanaco bring to proof /191/ that in ancient ages of the Aymara civilization women already had their hair parted into an infinite number of small braids. This hair style was also that of the pre-Spanish populations in the Atacama Desert: Boman has in fact published the skull of a woman from Calama, which he describes in these terms: "The black, stiff hair is divided on top of the head and forms numerous plaits on each side, the ends of which /figure 14 appears here/ are tied with a woolen string. In each of these knots a strong cactus spine has been placed which serves as a hairpin. Certain Indians of the Bolivian Altiplano still arrange their hair in several plaits on each side, in the same manner as the ancient inhabitants of Calama." The women of the Anicocchua (Espinar Province) clan in Peru have kept up to recent years the custom "of dressing the hair in the back and of dividing the hair into a group of small, thin plaits joined together by strings of cotton or woolen thread which end in fringes, which gives them the appearance of a thick material. /200/ This hair style is called zalcapa, without doubt

Fig. 13.--Detail of a belt worn by Cipaya women.

Plate I

A. Young Cipaya girl

B. Cipaya couple in Sunday

C. Cipaya woman come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

Smithsonian—BAE B-6 (1650-1682) 1681.1936 SF04 Uru SF04

Plate III

A. Little boy 13 or 14 years old, an excellent salesman.

B. Young Čipaya woman.

C-D. Čipaya woman.

Smithsonian--214 E-5 (1930-1931) 1930, 1938 SI94 Uru SI94

Plate V

A. Čipaya woman leaning against a wall and treading quinua seed, to husk them.

B. Čipaya woman spinning.

C. Čipaya woman weaving.

D. Treadle loom for weaving made of cactus wood.

3:Vellard--6c D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

7. Uru with small fish net (tum kaku). Account III, 14 /see p. 12/.

8. Uru with big fish spear (Account III, 20 /see p. 12/).

3:Vellard--22a D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

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1. Andrés Vila and Luis Vila.

2. Old Uru woman about 90 years old.

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3. Old Uru woman.

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4. Manuel Inta, 80 to 90 years old.

5. Carlos Kispe, Uru-Aymara, 40 to 50 years old.

3-Vellard--41 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate VIII

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10. Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.

11. Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.

12. Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.

13. Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hoslé or huslé, "bastard," without father or master," or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaitka-uira ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men", in Spanish; uru, uru-kuna ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 175 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas; [131] [262] because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said 175 [062] [501] [991] [994] lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear; [241] [242] [222] and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make houses, but they merely subsist on plants, although there also exists among them a seed similar to mijo which grows on

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [197] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [206] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Anciently, it is said, the *Uru* went entirely nude, which is quite incredible in view of the bitterly cold winters in this region. The essential male costume is like the pre-Columbian *Chipaya* uncu—a sleeveless, sacklike garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This is woven of llama yarn on a simple bar loom staked in the ground. Recently, most *Uru* males have adopted trousers of the *Aymara* style: short, with a slit at the heel, and tailored of native homespun after a Colonial pattern. The slit permits the trousers to be rolled up more easily when a man fishes from a balsa or wades in shallow water. Leather sandals are sometimes worn when traveling, but people usually go barefoot. A knit wool cap, with *Aymara*-style earflaps, is sometimes topped with a crude, *Aymara*-manufactured felt hat. A belt is sometimes worn, and occasionally a thick woolen poncho. Caps woven of bird feathers were known in ancient days.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts, girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at the top over each shoulder with a large-headed copper pin (tupu). When traveling in cold weather, the women wear woven woolen wimples over the head under the hat.

Women part their hair in the middle and wear it in two braids tied behind the back with vicuña-wool filets; only a few still wear the ancient style "Titicaca braids"—countless small braidlets all over the head. Women wash their hair in fermented human urine. *Uru* men wear their hair short in quasi-European fashion or in an all-around tropical bang.

BOATS

The *Uru* are famous balsa builders (pl. 115, *bottom*). Their craft, though actually rafts made of totora reeds, are shaped like boats and are highly navigable even in narrow, shallow swampways. The reeds are cut with knives attached to poles, then, after drying, are stacked in shocks like corn. Nearly every able-bodied *Uru* male has quantities of this material in all stages of preparation for balsas. During spare moments in their houses, they are continually braiding ichu grass into tough ropes to bind the reed bundles. The keel is formed of a long, thin, tubular bundle of reeds; and separately lashed to this keel are two thick, cigar-shaped pontoon-bundles. Each of these pontoons is built up of reeds so arranged as to be very thick in the middle of the boat and to have upturned points at each end. An acute-angled wooden tool with a groove inside one arm is used to tighten the binding. To keep out small waves, gunwales consisting of much thinner bundles of totora are lashed to the upper outside

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

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[226]

[291]
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[505]

PLATE 115.—**Uru fishing and gathering totora reeds.** *Top:* Man putting down a tripod fish net. *Bottom:* Towing bundles of reed with a balsa. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-C]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946

SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[285]

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[289]

PLATE 117.—Uru and Chipaya Indians. *Top (left):* Uru man making a mat. *Top (right):* Chipaya man. *Bottom (left):* Uru man holding a fishing net. *Bottom (right):* Uru [illegible] (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[582-E]

Le Barr E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[342]

PLATE 118.—Chipaya women. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

[P. 582-F]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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[534]
[534]

PLATE 120.—**Chipaya country and Chipaya Indians.** *Top* (*left*): Chullpa, or ancient burial tower. *Top* (*right*): Woman shelling with feet. *Bottom* (*left*): Dancer. *Bottom* (*right*): Playing a game. (Courtesy Alfred MÉTRAUX.)

[P. 582-H]

6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uros, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *aire*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

6: Ruiz and Roca T-S (ca.1956) 1987 SF24 Urs SF24
Chipaya

mezcla con los kollas, puesto que se encuentran tipos de rasgos característicos de este grupo.

Aparte de sus actividades agrícolas y pastoriles, el rasgo más sobresaliente de este pueblo, es su religión que, si bien básicamente no difiere mucho de las creencias y ritos aymaras, se ha conservado en estado más puro. Su idolatría se caracteriza por la veneración y deifi-

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Mujer Indígena Chipaya.

cación principalmente de los accidentes geográficos como son las montañas, los ríos, las piedras, etc. Y aún parece haberles impresionado la torre de la iglesia, a la que denominan *Mallku Mayor* en el pueblo. Asimismo, desparramados en la población y sus alrededores, se encuentran pequeñas torrecillas o adoratorios llamados también *Mallkus*, que representan indistintamente, demonios y santos de la Iglesia.

Habiendo tenido el privilegio de convivir durante casi un mes con los chipayas, creemos encontrarnos en la obligación de dar algunas recomendaciones a las entidades gubernamentales que corresponda, en vista de la situación real en que se encuentra este valeroso pueblo que

[Spanish text continues on P. 218]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserved in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation.

[English text continues on p. 219]

Chipaya

Chipaya woman

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymara haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sun-dried brick, they build their houses of cane hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular beehive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called tola. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy wooden blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who need flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of [illegible] which are [illegible] by the heads of each [illegible].

Tribute Committee 1-4 (on deck) LIBRARY Chiapas

to individual families by the head of each society. The altitude and the high salinity make the land infertile, and crops are meager. Sowing is done with a spade or sometimes a pointed stick, pushed into the earth with a strong thrust, forming a dry hole in which the seed is planted.

The people of the Andes have been master weavers for long over a thousand years. Modern Chipaya women carry on the art on looms like the ones their ancestors used, weaving the cloth for the family clothes from hand-spun llama wool. The women dress almost entirely as their ancestors did when the Spanish arrived. The basic garment is a rectangular shirt, woven in one piece with an opening left for the head. The blue sleeves that are worn on are a modern addition. A black or gray tunic (aysu) with a decorative border is worn over this, covering the whole body from the shoulders to the ankles. This ancient style has been slightly altered under acculturational influence; now most of the women sew up the sides to form a sort of skirt. The sash is woven with black and white geometric designs. An ample mantle completes the costume. Long pins with large flattened heads are used to secure the mantle, and as ornaments in the hair. When the sun is strong, they protect themselves with an umbrella, a folded cloth worn on the head, exactly like the ones shown on Inca pottery.

Perhaps the most striking pre-Columbian survival is the famous "Tiwanaku coiffure" still worn by many of the

[P 21-A]

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small flat piece of bone, or a miniature bronze idol exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a costume similar to the *ajsu* used by various Indians in eastern Bolivia. It resembles the shirt worn by the women, but is taller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya *sapu*. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the *chullo* of the Aymaras, the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the mark four cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also unusually small, measuring six to eight inches on a side and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drums introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flutes. The straight Andean flutes are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-B]

[P. 21-B]

Fashions, hair-styles, and wigs of this Chinese world take an influence from dynasties

[3-18-C]

Chinese Communists [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Chinese

7:Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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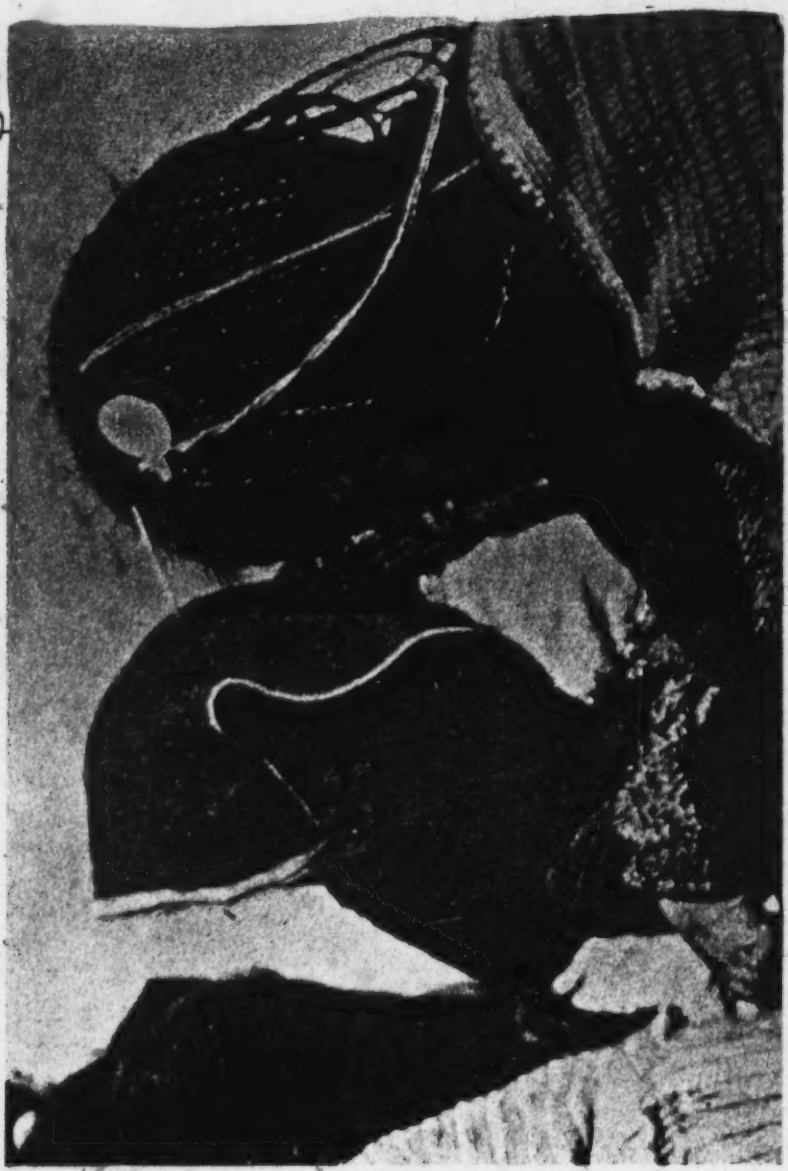

Woman displays braided hair style and pin, another the cloth worn on the head for protection from sun

[P.22-A]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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Fig. 1: The Uru lady who by unanimous consent had taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate.

[p. 305]

8:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SP24 Uru SP24
Iru Ifu

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Fig. 2: The village church.

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Fig. 3: Our leading lady and her mother, who was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen.

[P. 306-A]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

Fig. 4:
An Uru fisherman.

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Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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Fig. 5: Uru woman sitting in front of her house.

Iru Itu
8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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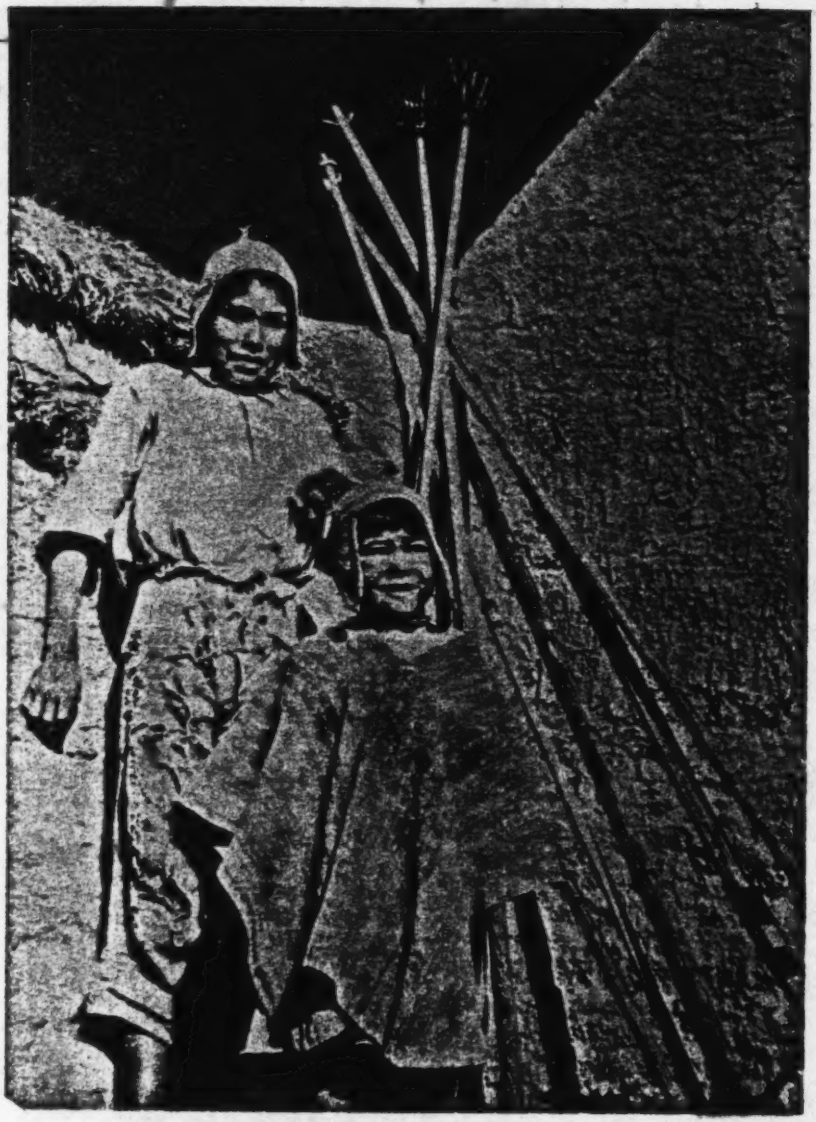

Fig. 6: Leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old.

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

Fig. 8: An Uru house made of adobe and covered with rushes.

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[p. 311-B]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

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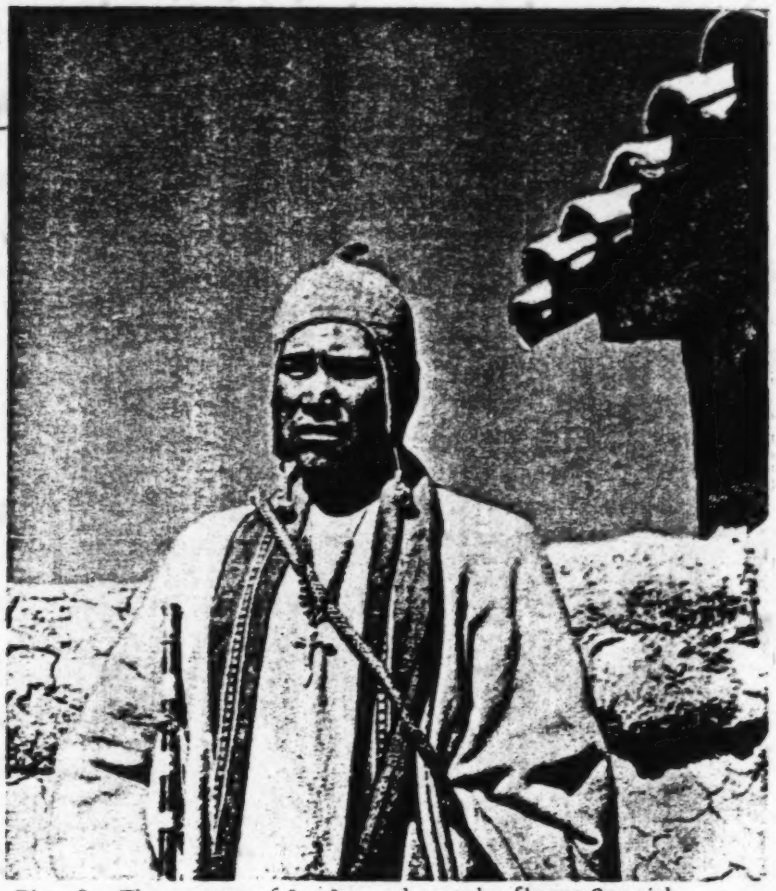

Fig. 9: The mayor of Iru Itu, who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]

B:Pain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Itu

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126 angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-
114 measurements and making notes. We lunched,
123 giving the remains to the children, who looked so-
252 mewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake,
and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the
car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure
enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing
[511] to the poverty of the village, they have only enough
fuel to light about one fire every day or every two
●[091] days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets
which had once been pink, and dusty battered bow-
ler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of
[415] bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and re-
markably dirty, ran into the house and emerged drag-
114 ging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was
satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone
into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *čuñu*-consuming Aymára (*čuñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututin*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Los Lagos*, p. LXI.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ira* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiła*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *kulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

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FIG. 2. Uru woman of Ancoaqui, Rio Desaguadero, Bolivia. Note *topo* or bodice-pin, Titicaca hair-style braidlet, door, pottery and thatching.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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siłora) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *bolsas*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *čewara*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*ɢawara*) llama-wool (*ɢawâi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*waʔ[i]*) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *časi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *škara*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.[25] The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "sogas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *bolas* (Aymará *liwi*, Uru *kʻoñi*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

[25] Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lucurmata on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *asiro* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.

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whereas the *balsa* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a protextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *luta* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *garras*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[38]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskala* [cf. the term for penis, *sisi-* ("eggs") *skalal*] used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *tulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Opilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*kupaña*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kayla* or *'kayi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[38] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.